

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-05 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-07 L-03

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2278

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASY ANKARA

AMEMBASY ATHENS

USNMR SHAPE

JCS WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USNATO 3254

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, NATO

SUBJECT: NATO INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS IN GREECE

JCE FOR J-4.

REFERENCES: A. USNATO 3093

B. STATE 085536

C. USNATO 2004

D. USNATO 523

E. STATE 020857

F. USNATO 1296

SUMMARY: UNDER DATE OF 9 JUNE 75 TURKS HAVE CIRCULATED A NOTE TO SYG LUNS ADDRESSING THE STATUS AND FUNDING OF INFRASTRUCTURE IN GREECE, SPECIFICALLY LUNS' PROPOSALS IN PO/75/1 AND PO/75/41. TURKS PROPOSE A COMPROMISE FORMULA NOT SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT FROM THAT IN PO/75/1 AND WE BELIEVE IT REPRESENTS PROGRESS TOWARDS A REASONABLE BASIS FOR AN INTERIM ARRANGEMENT PENDING FINAL RESOLUTION OF THE GREEK PROBLEM. END SUMMARY.

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1. UNDER DATE OF 9 JUNE 1975 THE TURKISH DELEGATION HAS CIRCULATED COPIES OF A NOTE, CITE 16095/E-1236, TO SYG LUNS ADDRESSING THE PREVIOUS LUNS PROPOSALS FOR QUOTE GUIDANCE TO THE INFRASTRUCTURE COMMITTEE PENDING CLARIFICATION OF RELATIONS WITH

GREECE UNQUOTE (PO/75/1 AND PO/75/41). IN ESSENCE THE TURKS PROPOSE A COMPROMISE FORMULA FOR CONTINUATION OF INFRASTRUCTURE IN GREECE BASED ON THE LUNS FORMULA CONTAINED IN PO/75/1. TEXT OF NOTE FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT.

MY DEAR SECRETARY GENERAL,

THE NEW DOCUMENT PO/75/41 GIVES THE IMPRESSION OF BEING DRAFTED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE GUARANTEE OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT BRINGS A NEW ELEMENT TO THE SUBJECT UNDER DISCUSSION, WHEREAS, FOR THE REASONS I WILL TRY TO POINT OUT, MY AUTHORITIES QUESTION THE RELEVANCY OF SUCH A GUARANTEE TO THE INTERIM ARRANGEMENT. CONSEQUENTLY WE BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE MORE CONSTRUCTIVE TO BASE OUR EFFORTS ON THE FORMULA REPRODUCED IN THE PO/75/1 AND DEVELOPED DURING THE SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS.

2. THE UNDERSTANDING OF MY AUTHORITIES IS THAT A PROJECT COULD BE ELIGIBLE FOR NATO COMMON FUNDING ONLY IF THERE IS NO DOUBT AS TO ITS UNINTERRUPTED AVAILABILITY FOR USE BY FORCES ASSIGNED TO NATO.

IN SPITE OF THE GUARANTEE TO BE GIVEN BY THE GREEK GOVERNMENT (WHICH IS AT BEST A CONDITIONAL GUARANTEE FOR USE UNTIL A FURTHER UNILATERAL DECISION OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT), THERE ARE THREE MAJOR ELEMENTS THAT CAST DOUBTS ON THE AVAILABILITY FOR USE OF THE INSTALLATIONS LOCATED IN GREECE:

FIRSTLY, THE GREEK GOVERNMENT HAS COMMUNICATED UNEQUIVOCALLY TO MY AUTHORITIES ITS DECISION TO WITHDRAW FROM THE NATO INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE. THEREFORE MY AUTHORITIES FEEL COMPELLED, UNTIL A NEW COMMUNICATION, NOT TO CONSIDER GREECE AS A FULL PARTNER OF THE NATO'S INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE. CONSEQUENTLY, THE PROJECTS LOCATED IN GREECE AND

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BASICALLY INTENDED FOR THE USE OF GREEK FORCES CANNOT BE CONSIDERED AS ELIGIBLE FOR COMMON FUNDING, SINCE THESE FORCES ARE NO LONGER ASSIGNED TO NATO.

SECONDLY, AS YOU ARE WELL AWARE, THE GREEK AUTHORITIES DENIED IN THE RECENT PAST THE AVAILABILITY OF CERTAIN COMMON FUNDED NATO COMMUNICATION FACILITIES TO NATO COMMANDS.

THIRDLY, THE WORDING OF THE GREEK AMBASSADOR'S STATEMENT AS REPRODUCED IN THE PO/75/41 IMPLIES THAT THE USE OF SOME OF THE COMMON FUNDED PROJECTS, EVEN ALL OF THEM, MAY BE DENIED IN THE FUTURE IF THE GREEK AUTHORITIES CHOOSE TO SO DECIDE. IN OTHER WORDS, UNCERTAINTY ABOUT AVAILABILITY STILL CONTINUES

AND THE READINESS OF THE GREEK AUTHORITIES TO GIVE SUCH A
GUARANTEE CONFIRMS, IN A WAY, THIS UNCERTAINTY.

3. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES IT IS CLEAR THAT THE INS-
STALLATIONS LOCATED IN GREECE CANNOT BE CONSIDERED FOR COMMON
FUNDING ON AN EQUAL FOOTING WITH THE PROJECTS PROGRAMMED IN
OTHER COUNTRIES PARTICIPATING IN THE PROGRAMME.

FURTHERMORE, FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS RELATED TO THE
GENERAL CONCERN OF MAKING THE BEST USE OF LIMITED INFRASTRUC-
TURE FUNDS, HAVE TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT:

A) THE DECISION OF THE GREEK AUTHORITIES REGARDING THEIR
FUTURE RELATIONS WITH THE ALLIANCE MAY CONSTRAIN THE ALLIANCE
TO FIND NEW LOCATIONS FOR THE PROJECTS PRESENTLY INTENDED FOR
GREECE.

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AMEMBASSY ATHENS
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B) THE DECISION OF GREEK AUTHORITIES MAY WARRANT THE
DELETION OF CERTAIN PROJECTS ALREADY APPROVED. IN THAT CASE
THE NEXT PRIORITY PROJECT WILL HAVE TO BE IMPLEMENTED.

4. I WOULD LIKE TO SUGGEST, MR. SECRETARY GENERAL, THAT
WE FOCUS OUR EFFORTS ON HELPING THE ALLIANCE TO DEFINE A CLEAR
AND EQUITABLE POSITION, A POSITION WHICH SHOULD NOT BE OF A
NATURE TO ENCOURAGE THE GREEK AUTHORITIES TO CONTINUE INDEFI-
NITELY THEIR EQUIVOCAL ATTITUDE IN THIS FIELD. THE APPEASING
ATTITUDE OF THE ALLIANCE HAS SO FAR BEEN COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE,
SINCE IT HAS NOT GENERATED ANY EAGERNESS IN THE GREEK AUTHO-
RITIES TO BRING TO AN END THIS VAGUE SITUATION.

5. THE FORMULA I PROPOSE INTRODUCES A DISTINCTION BETWEEN SINGLE-USER AND MULTINATIONAL PROJECTS ON THE BASIS OF USERSHIP. IT ALLOWS ENOUGH FLEXIBILITY FOR THE OPERABILITY OF THE MULTINATIONAL PROJECTS.

WE SUPPOSE THAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT HAS NOT SPENT FROM COMMON FUNDS FOR SINGLE USER PROJECTS AFTER THE DECISION OF WITHDRAWAL (E.G. FROM UN-EXPENDED NATO FUNDS RECEIVED BEFORE CONFIDENTIAL

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28 AUGUST 1974). HOWEVER, EVEN IF SUCH KIND OF EXPENDITURES ARE MADE, WE MAY AGREE AS AN EVIDENCE OF GOOD WILL NOT TO ASK GREECE TO RETURN THOSE FUNDS UNDULY SPENT.

IF TURKEY'S PROPOSALS ARE STILL NOT ACCEPTABLE TO THE DPC, MY AUTHORITIES WILL BE PREPARED TO AGREE, AS AN ALTERNATIVE, THAT THE GREEK AUTHORITIES PRE-FINANCE ANY PROJECT PROGRAMMED IN SLICES UP TO XXV, WHICH THEY MAY THINK POTENTIALLY FIT TO NATO CRITERIA. WHEN GREECE RETURNS TO THE MILITARY STRUCTURE, THESE PROJECTS COULD BE FUNDED BY NATO UNDER NORMAL RULES AND PROCEDURES.

I WOULD APPRECIATE IT VERY MUCH IF YOU WOULD CONVENE THE DPC IN ORDER TO DISCUSS THE PROPOSAL MADE BY MY AUTHORITIES FOR THE GUIDANCE

/S/ ORHAN ERALP

ANNEX

"A. UNTIL FURTHER GUIDANCE IS PROVIDED BY THE DPC:

A) AMONG PROJECTS LOCATED IN GREECE AND USED SOLELY BY THE GREEK AUTHORITIES THOSE WHICH ARE AUTHORIZED AND FOR WHICH FUNDS ARE COMMITTED PRIOR TO 28 AUGUST 1974 SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE FUNDED IF WORKS WERE NEAR COMPLETION AT THAT DATE.

B) PROJECTS OTHER THAN THOSE REFERRED TO IN PARAGRAPH (A) ABOVE AND AUTHORIZED PRIOR TO 28 AUGUST 1974, MAY BE FUNDED AND NEW PROJECTS MAY BE AUTHORIZED ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS, IF WITHOUT THESE PROJECTS MULTINATIONAL NATO INSTALLATION LOCATED IN GREECE CANNOT OPERATE.

C) THE DPC WILL RECONSIDER AT THE END OF THE 1975 INFRASTRUCTURE FINANCIAL YEAR WHETHER THE FUNDING OF PROJECT LOCATED IN GREECE WILL BE CONTINUED OR NOT.

D) NO FURTHER PROJECTS SHOULD BE AUTHORIZED."

2. AS WE READ IT, THE COMPROMISE PROPOSED BY TURKS IN ANNEX ABOVE REPRESENTS A SIGNIFICANT RETREAT FROM THE HARD LINE

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TAKEN BY THE RUKS IN THE DPC ON 30 JAN 75(REF D) AND REAFFIRMED IN THE DPC ON 7 MARCH 75(REF F). THEY HAD INESSENCE PROPOSED SUSPENSION OF NATO PAYMENTS FOR ANY GREEK PROJECTS AUTHORIZED PRIOR TO 28 AUGUST 1974 EXCEPTING THOSE ON WHICH CONSTRUCTION WAS WELL ADVANCED AND ABANDONMENT OF THE PROJECT WOULD QUOTE BE DETRIMENTAL TO NATO INTERESTS UNQUOTE. AS WE READ IIT, THE NEW TURKISH PROPOSAL IS IN FACT EVEN MORE GENEROUS THAN THE ORIGINAL LUNS PROPOSAL IN PO/75/1 IN THAT IT CONTEMPLATES POSSIBLE AUTHORIZATION OF NEW PROJECTS UNDER CERTAIN SPECIFIC CONDITIONS. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT CREATES A POTENTIALLY SERIOUS PROBLEM IN THAT IT WOULD SUSPEND FUNDING OF ANY PROJECTS SOLELY FOR GREEK USE FOR WHICH FUNDS WERE NOT COMMITTED BEFORE 28 AUGUST 74. THIS OF COURSE REFLECTS TURK CONCERN ABOUT POSSIBLE GREEK MILITARY BUILD-UP AT NATO EXPENSE. THE EFFECT OF THIS PROVISION WOULD BE TO RETROACTIVELY IMPOSE ON THE GREEKS THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR COVERING COSTS OF ON-GOING GREEK-USER PROJECTS FOR WHICH FNDS HAD BEEN CMMITTED AFTER 28 AUG 74. WE DOUBT THAT GREECE OR INDEED ANY OTHER ALLY WILL FIND THIS ACCEPTABLE. WE BELIEVE HOWEVER THAT SOME SUCH RESTRICTION IMPOSED AS OF THE DATE OF DPC AGREEMENT PLUS SAY 30 DAYS MIGHT PROVIDE A BSIS FOR COMPROMISE.

3. ASIDE FROM TURK PERM REP ERALP'S COMMENTS AT THE PERM REP LUNCH ON 3 JUNE 1975(REPORTED REF A) THIS IS THE FIRST FORMAL INDICATION HERE OF THE TURKISH POSITION ON GREEK RELATIONS WITH NATO SINCE THE SUMMIT. WHIOLE CONSONANT WITH THE MODERATE TONE TAKEN BY ERALP ON 3 JUNE, THIS LATEST NOTE PROBABLY REFLECTS CONTINUING ANKARA CONCERN WITH IMMEDIATE AND TANGIBLE INFRASTRUCTURE ISSUES, NOTABLY THE FAILURE OF COUNTRIES TO APPROVE INFRASTRUCTURE PAY SHEETS FOR THE FIRST TWO QUARTERS OF 1975. THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF HAS NOT PUT THE PAY SHEETS BEFORE THE INFRASTRUCTURE COMMITTEES IN AN APPARENT ATTEMPT TO AVOID A CONFRONTATION WITH THE TUKS OVER THEIR HARD LINE ON GREEK PRIJECTS. HOST COUNTRIES HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY IRRITATED OVER THIS DELAY IN PAYMENTS AND TURKEY ITSLEF IS PROBABLY BEGINNING TO FEEL THE PINCH SINCE TURKS RECIEVE APPROXIMATELY TEN TIMES AS MUCH AS THEY CONTRIBUTE AND THEY HAVE A NUMBER OF INPORTANT PROJECTS CURRENTLY IN PROGRESS. THIS PROBLEM WOULD PRESUMABLY BE QUICKLY RESOLVED IF COUNTRIES COLD AGREE ON AN INTERIM ARRWCGEMENT.

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AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USNMR SHAPE
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4. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THIS SPECIFIC AND LIMITED INFRA-
STRUCTURE ISSUE HAS OR HAD ANY DIRECT CONNECTON WITH THE DROADER
PROBLEM OF US-TURKISH RELATIONS AND WE DOUBT THEREFORE THAT US
AGREEMENT OR NON-AGREEMENT TOTHE TURKISH PROPOSAL WOULD HAVE ANY
EFFECT ON THE GILATERAL SITUATION. WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO
DEAL WITH THIS IMMEDIATE QUESTION ON ITS OWN TERMS AND IN THE
LGHT OF US OBJECTIVES FOR THE INFRASTRUCTURE PROGRAM AS SUCH. WE
DO ON THE OTHER HAND SEE SOME POSSIBLE BENEFIT IN THE REASONALBE
PRESSURE WHICH AN ARRANGEMENT ALONG THESE LINES WOULD PUT ON THE
GREEKS TO SPEED CONSIDERATION OF FUTURE GREEK-NATO RELATIONSHIPS
BEFORE DPC DECIDES IN DECEMBER WHETHER TO CONTINUE FUNDING
PROJECTS IN GREECE (PER PARA C. OF TURK PROPOSAL).

5. INFORMATION FROM THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF INDICATES THAT
THERE IS NO PRESSURE FROM THE TURKS OR OTHER COUNTRIES FOR AN
IMMEDIATE DPC DISCUSSION OF THE TURKISH NOTE, AND INDEED SEVEAL
COUNTIES URGED THAT SUFFICIENT TIME BE ALLOWED TO REACH A SUB-
STANTIVE AGREEMENT ON ALL SIDES BEFORE SUCH A DISCUSSION TAKES
PLACE. INFRASTRUCTURE CONTOLLER SMITH DID INDICATE THAT
INTERNATIONAL STAF HOPE FOR A DISCUSSION WITHIN APPROXIMATELY
TWO WEEKS AND WE WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE BEFORE THAT
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TIME. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE BY 24 JUNE 75. WE WOULD LIKE
TO HAVE AUTHROTIY TO SUPPORT THE TURKISH PROPOSAL IN ANNEX ABOVE,
BUT WITH ELIMINATION OF RETROACTIVE APPLICATION (REF TO ""OMMITTED
PRIOR TO 28 AUG 74") IN PARA (A), WOULD PREFER TO MAKE CUT-OFF
EFFECTIVE 30 DAYS FOLLOWING DPC DECISION ON THIS SUBJECT.
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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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